

I. Issues on the City Agenda and City Politics

1. I'd like you to think about the mayoral primary or general election campaign of 1952, the one in which Mayor Addonizio defeated Carlin and _____ (NAMES OF OPPONENT OR OPPONENTS). What were the major issues in the campaign and what did they involve?

In 1962 I was a reporter for the Star Ledger and I covered that campaign for one week with Addonizio and one week with Carlin. We just accompanied them around. The Ledger covered the campaign by press release for some weeks and then with a reporter for just the final two weeks of the campaign. I had never met either man before and I had no previous experience in reporting on Newark politics. I had been in Newark since probably 1958. I had no contact with either man or Addonizio for whom I later worked for. I went to work for him in 1964, December. The job, which was created by the man before me, was Administrative Assistant to the Mayor with responsibilities in ^{inter}governmental affairs, community relations and press relations. The guy who held the job before me, San Commissioner went to RCA Victor Community Relations and he I guess ^{created} the intergovernmental aspects of it because the antiproverty program has just been passed, and the city was negotiating its first federal grant in the social program area. When I arrived, December 1964, the city was, I think, the 4th largest urban renewal program in the country. New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark and New Haven were the 5 largest urban renewal programs in the country. Very well known for urban renewal, but it had not had social program money because it was just not available. The Anti-poverty program was probably the first of that sort of thing. And so the city was wrestling around with its first federal grant directly dealing with social problems and it had just received notice of its neighborhood youth corp grant -- can you imagine that, -- \$500,000 and everybody thought that was the greatest thing in the world. But they also committed the creation of the community action agencies outside the city government. San Commissioner represented the city in intergovernmental relations and was part of group of persons who felt that community action agencies should be outside, well outside, ^{the} city government. I think that was because it suited his own personal ^{career} goals, not the city government's. I think that it was a serious error which caused monumental problems with the city. That's another story.

In 1962 I covered the campaign for a week and 1964, late 1964, really toward January 1965, I started on this role and continued with it through Addonizio's loss in May or June 1970 and Ken Gibson asked me to stay on and I did through the end of that year, ^{but} it was very awkward. I was there about 6 years. I had

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not been there before, knew no one in City Hall. The first time I was in City Hall was the first day I went to work. Later I remember being called "an old City Hall pro" which made me laugh. I did not know a single person at City Hall and had never been in it until I went to work. And I don't think I have been back and don't know a person since. But it was a great experience -- I loved it.

Crime in the streets was the first paramount issue. The Mayor, Carlin was defending his administrative and Addonezio, the challenger Congressman, was raising the crime in the streets issue and I think back on it as ironic. I think that it was in the pre-super-heated racial days of the mid '60s. So Addonezio was able to run on the crime in the streets issue with black support. He was the black candidate in 1962 and he was the ethnic and racial candidate. Carlin represented sort of the establishment Irishmen and the big business interests. At least, that is how the campaign was presented and I think that in very rough terms that was probably true. Addonezio was the Central Ward Congressman, I don't know how he managed to get a way with it, but in those days there were no racial overtones, or there were less racial overtones with the crime in the streets issue. I suspect that the whites up in the North Ward and everywhere else understood that the crime in the streets issue would be the black issue. But I guess blacks were perceived as less in power and more as a key minority voting block, so it was okay.

I don't recall how Carlin responded to the crime in the streets issue. Oh yess, I do, he continued to hint that Addonezio represented the "old gang", dark corrupt forces that at least theoretically had been beaten back by the government charter change which was when the city was switched from a city commission to a mayor and council. He kept talking about the old gang. He had a guy running his campaign who had been successful in unseating Carmine De Lupo's Greenwich Village Democrat. He came over to run ^{Leop's} campaign and they were very proud of their undercurrent of old gang sort of things. And what happened, last week, was that Addonezio confronted Carlin at the League of Woman Voters with the old gang business and some of the audience demanded "We want the names of the old gang." Carlin, inadvertently, he was a very aggressive guy too, very angrily shouted out, "Don't get smart with me, lady. Everyone knows that there is an invisible hand at work in these things." Well, I don't think he was thinking of Adam Smith when he had his hand in the market and what happened was that Addonezio took complete control. He pushed Carlin out of the way and grabbed the microphone and began to say. "Invisible hand, do you mean black hand, do you mean Mafia?" It was the introduction

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in 1962 of these explosive phrases which caused headlines in the Newark News and the Itz.
It got out in the open what had been the kind of undercurrent in the campaign. That was the end of Carlin. He called it the best four days of the campaign. Lodge
That was the climax of the campaign. And it came down to this question of crime in the streets and then the old gang kind of thing.

It was pretty much understood, by the way, that Addonizio charged that the other guy was a captive of big business and urban renewal and had been involved in further ironies. Of course, years later history produced that he had been involved in black removal and neighborhood destruction and plus a tool of big business and had an out of control urban renewal program and was anti-black. [Addonizio]
And a very liberal pro-black program even with the crime in the streets issue,

Apparently, everybody was able to do that, I remember a reporter. I didn't even question it. Crime statistics in Newark were held by Addonizio to be false, underreported and so on. He won easily as a matter of fact.

What had been a underhanded campaign, was now exposed at the League of Women Voters Meeting. You can't do that kind of thing. The guy, after all at that point had been a Congressman for 16 years, a war hero and all that sort of thing. It also stuck with Addonizio forever. He was a decent guy. It also eliminated any Italians voting for Carlin. Italians and blacks made up the key voting groups and the blacks were not going to vote for Carlin and they didn't. I don't think Carlin got a black vote. Italians were and probably still are, Republicans, and Carlin anticipated some support and of course, felt he lost it all. But he played a dangerous game. He would have lost anyway, by the way.

Jets at Newark Airport was another issue. Carlin was for the ban of jets at Newark Airport. Jets were banned at that time because there had been a series of crashes in Elizabeth earlier and there was a lot of mumbling about closing the airport and that was a big issue for the business community. Addonizio was pro-jet and Carlin was anti-jet. That was Addonizio's connection to the business community. Would you believe it, that was a very serious issue. There had been three consecutive crashes in Elizabeth with jets taking off, so that kind of stopped everything in its tracks. Also, I don't think the Port of Authority was interested in developing Newark Airport which was another issue. I think that Carlin's emphasis had been on public housing and that sort of thing and Addonizio tended to his economic development as the key issue and he would push for a huge Meadowland redevelopment program -- that was his urban renewal game. But he would transfer the emphasis of urban renewal to economic redevelopment particularly in the meadows. He was also going to control the tax rate. I had forgotten that -- the jet issue and the Meadowlands, those were big issues. I

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remember doing a story -- crime in the streets was the underlying issue and the stuff everybody argued about was the dirty stuff. And the upfront issues were -- was the urban renewal program being handled appropriately, economic development jobs counted, that Carlin, without heart, did not understand that he was destroying neighborhoods and not giving people jobs. Carlin was saying this was ridiculous, we are trying to build neighborhoods and give people homes and he was doing economic development. The jet port thing was that it all had to be resolved in the interest of safety for Carlin, and Addonezio said that it would be interfering with progress if the jets were not allowed. Then there was a question of openings for minorities. Carlin had very few black people in his administration and Addonezio was talking about jobs. And this was received by Italians -- there would be an opening for jobs for Italians, too. And, clean streets -- all the stuff that is traditional. Tax -- Carlin had some budget surplus and Addonezio said that he was hiding financial stuff, but that the day of doom was around the corner, etc., etc. The usual political nonsense.

Knowledgeables Interview

2. Now, I'd like to ask you about which groups may have supported or opposed Mayor Carlin in that campaign of 1952. Could you tell me for each of these groups whether they were supporters of Mayor Addonizio, opponents of his, indifferent, split, or whether you don't know.

(Field Directors: check responses)

Groups	Supported	Opposed	Split	Indifferent	Don't Know
a. labor leaders			✓		
b. minority groups	✓				
c. Democratic Party		✓			
d. Republican Party	✓				
e. city employees		✓			
f. business leaders		✓			
g. civic and public interest groups					not relevant
h. newspapers & media		✓			
i. police			✓		

maybe favor Addonizio

PROBE: e.g. How did this support change over time?

a. Split. Carlin was a labor guy, he was a teamster himself, but I think the Unions were divided. Big business community was 100% for Carlin, they are 100% for the incumbent, by the way, except when they have to remove the incumbent to serve their best interests. Newark was the all-American City of 1955, I think. When they changed their form of government and committed themselves to a major renewal program, Newark was on the rise. My recollection was that this change was voted in by not only the business community, but by all the people of Newark. The business community was 100% behind urban renewal. I don't think they were for public housing in particular, they were things that people were for in urban renewal. In those days you thought of renewal in terms of taking down slums and putting up new buildings and it was supposed to encourage private development. What happened in Newark, I gathered, is that the economic reality is that it is a little difficult to get private development, so they went to public housing. There was to be a mix of public housing. Public housing has been in Newark since the 30s and was very popular -- the fact is the city commission used to vie for those projects and each ward got one and then there was a over who would get the next one. The crushing public housing came when they demolished the Italian community for the highrises. ^{They were all in the same place} Some saying it was necessary to do that ^{as a result of} indicate that the urban renewal program was designed to destroy or any

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other thing in the black community. Others suggesting that it was just convenient and the third group suggesting that various underworld and other figures have large holdings on that avenue, including restaurants and that their interests were bought up by the Feds at a good price, so you have your choice of those three. I guess this took place when renewal got started in the 50s, but you can take your choice, I don't know -- it's probably a combination of all.

- My recollection is that there was union support for Addonezio as there has been for many years in Congress. He was a union guy, 100%, in Congress, but Carlin also was a Union guy. I suggestion is that Addonezio had a surprising amount of Labor support, given Carlin was a Labor guy and that Carlin had some too. The business community was, in my judgment, 100% widely believed to be 100% ^{for} Carlin. The Italian Community was believed to be split and indecisive until the Mafia charge which was the last week of the campaign which some people believed consolidated the Italian vote behind Addonezio, although, I'm not sure whether or not that consolidation happened. History in the elections prior to the last two or three weeks of the election was that he would split the white vote and then the black vote and that was how he got elected. And that was true, by the way, against Carlin. He split the white vote and then got the overwhelming black vote and that was a big blow. The black community was for Addonezio 100%.
- b. He was a Democrat. Carlin got the full Democratic Party support. Addonezio ran as a Republican and had the full party support. First of all, it was a non-partisan election, but Carlin ran with Dennis Carey's endorsement, he was the Democratic leader. Addonezio ran as a maveric Democrat, with the framework or the party leadership of the Republicans. He presented himself as what he was -- he was an independent liberal Democrat in a non-partisan election with the Republican Party support. All the Republican leaders supported him, all the Democratic leaders supported the other guy. The Democratic party was 100% for Carlin, *officially*.
- c. I don't recall anything pertinent -- I guess they were mostly for Carlin.
- d. None come leaping to mind. ^(c) There were arguments where the police department was concerned. The Police department was an issue. the campaign. Weldon was the outsider and it was a big issue. Getting rid of Weldon was a big issue and there was a belief that the police department was at least split and maybe even more in favor of Addonezio than Carlin. This was also true with firemen. In the end, I think the firemen supported Carlin, although Jack Caulfield and others made some *inroads* I don't know. I remember the police being an issue and the firing of Weldon and a lot of talk about the police, some of the police were going to work *for Addonezio* *[in election campaigning]* and they may have.

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another big issue which I totally forgot was Martini Medical Center. That was a raging issue too. It had lost its accreditation and Addonezio was going to take politics out of it and reorganize it and bring in all kinds of great things. It was a big issue, raging issue -- butcher house, mishandled by Carlin, etc. They were going to get rid of that guy and a bunch of other people in the Health Department.

- h. The newspapers endorsed Carlin. Newark News was as solid a supporter of Leo Carlin as it could be, to the point of itself becoming an issue in the campaign. The Star Ledger was considered a much less supportive paper. It took a moderate pro-Carlin stand, but I think in its heart, wanted Addonezio elected because it felt it was virtually shutout by the Newark News' relation with Carlin. Two Newark News reporters were by and large considered Carlin's statagists. That's the newspapers. Newark News was the key paper you must understand and widely represented the blue-nose interests, anti-burlesque, anti-black, anti-Italian, anti-Addonezio, anti-anybody. I don't think that was true, particularly, but that was the perception. They certainly had a blue-nose view of things and they thought that Newark still existed in about 1880, and everything was nice and dandy. Very powerful newspaper in the state, though. Very widely respected, maybe by you, but not by me. The Newark News was a very influential paper, but respected is an odd word for me. I think the Newark News was a "mismanaged paper". Let me put it this way, ^{it} closed. It was so well respected the people let it close, because they didn't support it.

An addition to g.

The Council of Social Agencies was a big agency in those days. It was believed that they supported the incumbent.

Knowledgeables Interview

3. We'd like you to use this list of issues to tell us how significant the local political leadership perceived these issues to be during Mayor Addonizio's years in office. Please rank the issues on the scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means it was not an issue at all and 7 represents a very significant issue. (Field Director record scale responses.)

Issues

(very significant, not an issue)

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| a. transportation | <u>2</u> |
| b. energy | <u>1</u> |
| c. employment | <u>3</u> |
| d. public education | <u>3</u> 7 |
| e. school desegregation | <u>4</u> 17 |
| f. quality of municipal services | <u>2</u> 7 (after 1964) |
| g. civil disorders | <u>1</u> |
| h. municipal budgetary and tax problems | <u>4</u> 6 |
| i. crime | <u>3</u> 7 |
| j. insuring a strong economic base | <u>3</u> 5 |
| k. race and ethnic relations | <u>2</u> |
| l. corruption in city government | <u>2</u> 7 |
| m. urban redevelopment | <u>5</u> |

PROBE: e.g. Tell me a little about why you thought _____ (the most significant issues) were important. How did they change over time?

I'm probably ^{not} the best man to know what went on between 1962 and 1965. I'll give you my impressions as an outsider, but I was not an insider in the administration and I did not pay a whole lot of attention to what the issues were at that time. Newark glory was its race relations, in the late 50s, early 60s. That was what made Newark interesting and separate. How in the world, this place, which looked difficult, had a large number of black people, most of them were poor, how did they interface with the whole liberal spirit. It appeared that they got along well, that they wanted to work together, that there was some sort of belief in integration and people wanted to work together -- it was a liberal delight. Remember, 1966, NBC was making a film on Newark, "The City with something to teach." The Chamber of Commerce reproduced the transcript of the broadcast and was circulating it in July, 1967. WNBC -- it was a study in model race relations, because Newark had avoided in 1965 and 1966 the kind of stuff that was going on. People forget that the tone changed so dramatically. The things that happened, they were so misunderstood, so misreported.

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I think that what happened is that there were a lot of good people who were wrestling with trying to be positive about race relations in Newark and were successful in the 50s and 60s in building toward some long-term notion of how that city would go, which was to make some sort of successful integrated city with a transfer to black power but not perceived as black power as it was in the mid-60s, but to a nice pleasant black mayor who would be very agreeable to white interests and that that would just come to pass naturally sometime when the black population reached a voting majority. I think there were a lot of people that were committed to that thinking -- what was later perceived in the 60s as "old line blacks", NAACP types. My heart and a lot of us were with the NAACP and that's where liberals were. I don't think that was such a bad place to be. I still don't think it's a bad place to be. It became an awfully bad place to be in the middle 60s and what happened I think is that Newark was caught in the switch, because it was slightly advanced -- it was coming to real black power faster than people had anticipated and under conditions that no one had anticipated. As a result, people who had a liberal position were suddenly presented as racists and bigots, including the NAACP, itself. There were a lot of very tough realistic blacks, older blacks who had been shuffling in place, ^{and doing their own thing} ^{and doing their own thing}, get along with the white man, ^{general agreement} ^{general agreement} presuming that white power and white agreement was going to be necessary to achieve their own ... of control. And ... paid their dues. They had to shuffle to a white tune for a long time, but I don't think that goals were any different than the goals of the more radical younger blacks in the 60s. In many ways, one can conceive that fight in Newark as a battle as one might see ... battle the Democratic party between the older entrenched blacks and the younger militant blacks over who was going to get there first. Everyone understood that black power was going to elect the mayor, that was hardly news. The question was really never observed by any of the idiots who covered the place and came from New York ^{regularly to} report and go on their way. It was less a question of whether there was going to be black power, but more of when -- would it be in 1970 or 1974 election and who. To the outside white observer, all blacks look alike. Well, they don't and there was furious battling and elbowing going on in the black community -- who was going to inherit this great place, this wonderful thing. Who's going to have the plum. There was a battle very much as you see regularly here in the Democratic Party, between the outsiders coming in and usually claiming reform and screaming reform so that they can get to the head of the ladder. So it was quite difficult to watch. I think they have a much clearer perception of it than most of the reporters and others who were presenting it to Newarkers themselves and to others who watched and said, Channel 4 says this and

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you had spent 6 years .

- a. Transportation never rang any bells in Newark either before 62 or after. I guess traffic and back and forth and some stuff like that. Route 78 was an issue. The midtown connector was an issue, but they were never perceived to me as transportation issues, they were all part of moving the community and urban development. If we accept that Rt. 78 and 280 and the midtown connector were urban development and not transportation, I would give them a 2. If we take them as transportation issues, I would give them 4 or 5.
- b. I think energy had a 0 both at the beginning and at the end.
- c. Employment was an issue to which a great deal of rhetorical emphasis was given to it. I would give it maybe a 4 or 5. I think when I left our department spent about 15,000,000 on employment. I would guess it went from about a 5 to a 7. It was a highranking issue both before and in the end. Employment was always an issue in Newark. I'm sorry, I was thinking about 1965. I would give it something like a 3 from 1962 because I don't think it was as burning an issue until the black community started to get larger and larger. But by the end, it certainly was a 7.
- d. There was a big battle over schools -- whether the schools were good. I would say that was always an issue in the city. Education, I would say, would be about 4 to 7. Again that might be seeing racial turns too. A lot of debate over schools declining -- White fears about black education. Then later there became black fears about education. There was a change from an essentially white committee to a black committee during that period.
- e. School desegregation was an issue about 1962 maybe 5 and an issue of about 0 when we left. I was a reporter when they desegregated Chancellor Elementary School. There were still some issues hanging around, maybe a 3 or 4 in 1962. Did I say 5, make it a 4, because I forgot they were working on an issue number of 7 -- Why don't you give 10 like everybody else. I would put it down as 2 at the end because there were fights at Barringer High School. In 1970 there was still fighting at Barringer. (This was Addonizio's first fight with the black community, concerning minority hiring in the construction of the school. There was a construction boycott in 1962-63.) School desegregation was not a serious issue in that period. The schools desegregated themselves. There are no segregated schools. That would be a joke since the school district is 95% black. I don't know anybody who gives a damn about school desegregation in Newark. What would you do -- disperse the 5% white into the black community? It's an all black board of education and an all black administration so you would be suggesting that the black community has segregated the whites. In the old days when

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you had a white board of education and a white administration, they segregated the black kids theoretically. Well, if that's so, then we have to look at it the exact same way and if we find that a black board of education and a black administration have segregated the white kids and has intentionally locked them up in their own school. I don't think so. I think the whole thing is a farce and not an issue.

f. Quality of municipal services is a usual 3 throughout the whole period, maybe it rose to a 4 somewhere along the line. They always argue about that. Garbage collection is a big issue. Police protection is a big issue. I take that back, maybe it went from a 3 to a 6.

g. It was not an issue in any year except 67 and 68. I don't know how I could possibly answer that. 1964, 65 and 66 -- those were big years. It was a big issue in the 60s. It is a 7, but I don't think it existed as an issue in 1962.

h. That has been an issue in Newark all along. 4 to 6. These are continuing issues which every town has.

i. Crime would be a high-ranking issue.

I would say from about 5 to 7.

j. I would give it about a 3 to maybe a 4 or 5. Make it a 5.

k. I would say 7 throughout the whole thing.

l. Make it 3 in the beginning and going to a 7. In 1962, Addonizio was a representative of the "old gang" and gambling was going to dominate the city. That was the presentment after presentment. It was Newark ^{Newark} Biggest issue. They indicted the police director. It was just thrown out of court, it never went to a jury. The charges were dismissed after the presentation of the prosecutor's case. ^{So it} He was indicted for non ~~felony~~ ^{felony} which was just Brendon Byrne's way of getting out Newark News ^{heated. They were} ~~determined to get Byrne, to charge Byrne.~~

m. It was a big issue, always. I would say a 5 to a 5. Of course, the medical school issue got to be a big one. Maybe it went from 5 to 6. ^{The issue was not tearing down the neighborhood. The issue was the plan to} tear down the . The actual tearing down went smooth as we predicted it would.

The plan was made public in 1966. The battle over the medical school, of which I was leader, was included in the model city's application which I wrote in 1966. It was developed in late 1965 and was an issue in 1966. It was presented as a plan in late 1966 and then the battle began in 1966 and lasted through 1967. It was negotiated in 1968. There was no burning in the 1967 riots. It was widely believed that there was -- it was a looting riot. The only real fire we had was a downtown building burned by

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accident which was not related to the riot. A disgruntled employee, under the cover of the riot, set fire to one of the stores and burned down the building and that is the picture you always see. Well, it has nothing to do with anything that happened in Newark relating to the riot. It was related in that it occurred on Broad Street under the cover of the riot. The Springfield Avenue damage was in 1968. Fire damage was much more extensive in 1968 than it was in 1967. and the major fire in 1968 also proved to be not racially related. Some kids playing with matches burned down a square block. There was a tremendous battle between the black radicals and the white radicals over who set fire to it and the arson squad found a few weeks later that a six year old kid had started it playing in an abandoned building. But the fire damage was much more severe in 68 than in 67. Property damage was extensive in 1967, but property damage attributed to fire was much heavier in 1968. The medical school issue was not involved in the riots. Nobody lived there. One of the great ironies was that it was a dreadful slum in which no one lived. The turnover on the streets in the area was 100% per year. There was plenty of crummy housing around. You didn't have to live in that place. Everybody was in favor of taking it down, but it was a handy issue and it was also a symbolic one. It was also an unnecessary one because the only reason that much acreage was offered was to counter the medical school determination to build in Madison, New Jersey and not in Newark. The medical school had no intention, whatsoever, of ever coming to Newark. It fought bitterly to the end and its demands of its huge acreage were entirely an excuse to get out which became valid only because the Newark News endorsed them as valid. There was no validity whatsoever, and in private negotiations it was largely considered a farce and everybody laughed about it and we used to negotiate what was going to be the real acreage. This is very difficult to communicate to radio and television people who were responding entirely to the battling over the mayoral election as real racial conflict. Now there was real racial conflict, bonafide real and serious, but the thing which everyone focused on was the medical school or the appointment of William Parker to the Board of Education. There were many other issues, certainly the negotiation with the medical school over the real acreage and how bitter and tough that negotiation ^{was} laid on top of that and made it much worse.

The riots changed the order of leadership in the black community and it gave birth to Imperials. I don't think it changed anything other than to bring to white leadership those who I would judge to be less qualified to assume it. It did permit them to express legitimate concerns of a fading or faded white community. The most successful members of the community left the urban centers first and that exodus continued, so the 'p falls to less and less qualified persons and at

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the end you are confronted with a power structure so to speak or establishment of people in charge who are the least qualified and also generally the least willing to make a transfer to something as dramatically different as black leadership. At the same time you have a scramble, usually wild as in the Newark case, tough and often fatal battle in the black community of whom will assume this leadership. It appeared that in that period that the leadership felt those who expressed themselves in the most dramatic tones to the white media, and also those who were wise enough and bright enough to capture the fervor of the awareness of the black community were about to get power. They also know they can get power, so they can be appealed to in either mature terms, saying we are about to get power, let's get serious, or they can succumb to what we all do which is the rhetoric and the frantic appeals and the crap that goes on in any political campaign. In this case, the political campaign was fought in a very dangerous area, which was told confrontation. So I see everything in terms of racial/political maturing. It is probably wrong to see it that way -- it maybe too simpleminded, but it it helps explain a lot of things to me. Because if you look at it from an outsiders sort -- much of what went on looks like the usual business -- a bunch of bad guys pressing down on the oppressed blacks who rose up and did some bad things -- it was bad to riot and all that, but, what the hell, it was justified and then took control and made their city marble. Well, if you like that story, it is a terrific story -- it sold pretty good in 1969, 1970 and 1971 even. I think I told the guy from Time Magazine that the transfer wasn't all as dramatic as the press thought it was going to be and that Ken Gibson was a good man and that he would be perceived as the great savior in the campaign. He was a wonderful guy and that pretty soon, he would be just another mayor in trouble. They said, wonderful and liked it. They did a story, and I liked it cause I thought it was true, the story said that's probably the glory of America. That is the glory of it all. The sadness of it all was the awful and violent misunderstanding and an example of blind liberal menia of some pretty tight, simple-minded and ignorant reporters covering, particularly the television stations. Talking about intelligent decent men so incredibly ignorant and naive especially about the affairs someplace they considered to be beneath them. Newark was sort of a dopey little place that they had to come out and cover from New York. I found it a very complex city, some terrific and interesting people, black and white, involved in this most incredible complex and very human and exciting emotional confrontation which I think were genuine political expressions, difficult and often bordering on the dangerous but always pulling back from it by agreement. 1965 and 1966 and 1964, the confrontation over the civilian review board, the marches up and down with Farmer and everybody else and those incredible intense days when the civil rights movement

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[and police officers who]

was in flower where Martinez, councilman, killed some black man for as I recall a noisy muffler or something like that. There were several incidents where the police ended up killing somebody over a traffic incident and a tremendous tension which led the mayor to suspend the patrolman and Farmer came in and had these incredible marches with hundreds of thousands of people coming down the streets at the same time the police were picketing city hall to demand the return of Martinez to duty and then a counter white police parade and the two of them being managed by city officials and everybody else was in a great and interesting panic, but it was undisturbed. It wasn't impossible to manage because there was an understanding of what must be done to avoid confrontation. Everyone understood the symbolism of the marches in terms of expressing the frustration through parade, through march, through speech. It was a sort of demand for political expression, for political representation. All of these marches were taking place on the same day -- there were double picket lines in front of city hall. One to keep him suspended and one to let him go. Those were the expressions. There would be anger in the community and then it would be expressed in some form of way, a march, a parade, Bob Curvin giving a violent speech downtown. He wouldn't say, let's go to war on this, he would say, let's go to a parade on this. Let's demand, let's get a review board, *or civilian review board or* some form to protect the black community from unwarranted police action. There was a political goal and underneath it was *we must come to political maturity* that we must take city hall, we must be in control ourselves. This became distorted *in that they took* in 1967. I think '68 was an example of the return *[to political maturity]*. Well, Washington burned to the ground, didn't it in 1968? I think the fire damage in Washington D.C. exceeded Newark by *millions* while the press pretended otherwise the damage figures in Washington made Newark look like an incident. Washington D.C. had the big stuff going in 1968. The aftermath of Martin Luther King was a very trying time, but the press had learned a lot about reporting so that it was the appearance that less had happened. I'm sure that you would find that the property damage in 1968 was more significant than in 1967. Washington D.C. had a terrific time. It wasn't the only city. The rioting and civil unrest in the aftermath of Martin Luther King was quite significant. What do you think they told the police chiefs to do, rethink their cities in 1968. Don't you understand that that must have been a response to some federal initiative which was in fact a response to what they saw in 1967. I wouldn't call that an initiative -- something which happens after the fact is not an initiative. What happened is somebody put up some federal dollars to have some conferences when some jackass noticed that something was going on in the cities since

they were now counting up to 150 people killed. Cities burned to the ground and everybody jumping up and down. They said, maybe the police ought to rethink things through. You know, it's really funny. I have a very low regard for the federal government's performance during that period. I have a low regard for our own performance, for that matter too. A low regard for all performances, both the communities' and the government's.

Knowledgeables Interview

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4a. Looking back on Mayor Addonizio's administration, could you identify three of the major things he tried to accomplish while in office?

1. I don't think the mayors I have known and that includes Addonizio and I have known a number both then and now in my present job, I don't think that there are many mayors in municipalities in this state, and I suspect this to be true all over the country because I did consult all over the country with mayors in the community development program, have clear notion of what they intend to accomplish or any sort of commitment to a particular way of doing things. I think they are mostly guys who came from political ranks and had some idea that they were good guys and they knew what to do and then handled situations from situation to situation. They are practical men who are trying to pay attention to their politics and at the same time trying to get on with their notion of what's good. This notion is generally developed problem to problem. ~~There maybe some sort of character,~~ I think the character of the individual colors each situation, but I don't think that many of them have a well developed political philosophy or long range plan which they act on.

Let me think of what were his accomplishments, although I doubt that he would tell you they were his right now or he might not think of them. One thing he tried to do which was clear to me was that he tried to have some sort of peace or integrated government which would participate and continue to be the bridge to a gradual ascension of black control and black leadership, he hoped, would come out of his administration -- the groups of blacks that had committed themselves to him. I think that one of his goals was to manage a transfer of successfully integrated city with a quiet transfer to black control by persons he knew and worked with him and committed themselves to him since he was a congressman. I'm not all that sure that it was his thing or the blacks in his administration, but I think he endorsed that. Blacks in his administration held positions like budget officers, president of board of education, chief of the planning board, health department. He had a black deputy mayor. I'm not saying he was a great man looking to be the savior to the black community. I just really saw that that was a real issue and his problem was how to manage that issue. His idea was to bring it along slowly and make the transfer so that he could be happy -- you know, he could serve his time, be it 8 or 12, it was not clear. And that he would then pass it over to friends, he would have some influence and go on to be governor. His idea was to do good in Newark to be governor. That's the thing he tried to accomplish. He tried to build a record in Newark so that he could go on to be governor

4a. continued (1)

and he obviously failed. I think that part of that doing good was to bring along those black leaders which supported him from when time began and to place them in positions of responsibility so that he could first all pay off his debt and second gain his strength for the race and I think he failed them at doing that. ³⁾ I think he was also interested in the redevelopment of the city and making decisions about a lot of things which had been hanging fire for a long time. And making a whole bunch of development decisions. I think he succeeded in that, by the way. I think he succeeded in making major development decisions which had been hanging fire for a long time and getting them going. I think he made a series of major development decisions which, in fact, created the direction for the development in Newark for the last 10 years. So I think he was a failure in his attempt to build a record on which he could run for governor, a record which he thought would be built in terms of his ability to manage race relations successfully at which he obviously failed and to continue to have a successful ^{human and} urban renewal program. I think he was partially successful in making decisions and at least continuing the momentum of the redevelopment program. I think he was partially successful at this, the first two he failed. He was a very decisive guy.

I think that his notion of urban redevelopment was to emphasize jobs and to build on the empty land without regard to tax paying consequences. That is to fight for every region shaping development, schools, universities who don't pay taxes. The battle of the medical school he thought was something which would save that part of the town and would eventually redevelop the whole area. He was very committed to that and obviously people were opposed to that. His emphasis were really in terms of universities, the non-tax paying colleges, the port and airport. He fought the fourth jetport down below so that they would have to rebuild Newark and the big Meadowland industrial projects he thought were just great stuff. I think that he moved away from belief that private developers were going to come in - ~~he~~ faced the reality; it didn't take much brilliance to see that private developers were not swarming all over Newark, but his problem was what to do about that. The decision was to go after ^{region shaping forces} what everybody ^{new} complains ^{about as} non-tax payers, but which we felt ^{and it was} development direction, so I agreed 100%, were region-shaping forces, such as universities and all that in the naive belief that those things would in the end rebound to the benefit of the city by producing more ^a integrated society and a lot of positive housing and things like that.

La. continued (2)

Danzig had all the responsibility when we got there. He had all the responsibility in the previous administration too. Carlin, by the way, was originally opposed to urban renewal, then became its champion. Danzig was the technician who ran the show. It appeared that he didn't run all of it, but he was the technical person, he was very powerful and Newark Housing ^{Authority} was very powerful in 1962. They were a force and they're not even on your list. *Q* There were 4 centers of power in 1962 right through the time I was there in 1970. They were the Housing Authority, which was a government by itself, larger, more important and with more money than city government. It had millions of federal dollars and they were handing out To land owners, banks and stuff -- they were a powerful force. The Board of Education was an independent powerful operation. If you forget the Housing Authority, you may commit a serious mistake. That was the dominant agency in Newark in the late 50s and through most of the 60s. You cannot underestimate the Housing Authority, if you do you will be making an error. The Board of Education was very powerful. You had to deal with them as equals to bring them under control. It was the same with the Housing Authority. You were dealing with more than equals with the Housing Authority and much more independent. But you couldn't change the Board as quickly and you had no say on many of the people over there. Very difficult, they negotiated equally with the mayor. He was the mayor of the housing authority. You had the Board of Education which had a couple of mayors and a secretary of the Board, Hesse, Arnold Hesse -- he was a key mayor. He ran the Board, he ran everything. Danzig was a powerhouse and I think a high quality guy and Arnold Hesse, the Board of Education, Board secretary, but a major guy, mayor really and he was a high quality guy, a tough guy to deal with. Harry *Rosenstein*, the city clerk's office, really controlled the budget and a lot of other stuff. Very difficult and you had to deal with him as an equal. The mayor had a lot of power with the council, pretty much he would tell them what to do and he would yell at them, but *Rosenstein* was the real guy who could get the council to reverse itself and do any other thing by scaring them because he was the keeper of the laws. See they were nine guys who wandered in and Harry would say, "well listen, you're going to get in trouble". And they said, *down absolute record, the mayor wanted him* "Mayor, Harry says..." So you had to deal with Harry *Rosenstein*. *with reference not an absolute legal* there was the mayor's office. So they were the four mayors -- they were the four key guys which you had to deal with. And there were a ton of others, but those were four important guys, four important centers of power. The younger people who came on board, like me, resented all of that as typical executive-oriented typer in those days, make the mayoral chair important, make the presidency important and

4a. continued (3)

the first thing we could see was that we were having our trouble with those four and with the anti-poverty agency developing, it looked like there was going to be a fifth center. That was too much for us. We saw the federal funds flowing into the city which was a way for the mayor to get on top of what was going on and it was, but at a price which I would not chose to pay again if I had understood the price.

Then the model cities program and the community development program became the vehicles to get the mayor back in the game of building his staff in power and then getting the Housing Authority under control. City councilmen, I guess they still remain powerful agencies, although I think the mayor had a lot more to say under housing than he had. After the anti-poverty program fund flow, after getting that organized in the mayor's office, the Housing Authority was the next thing. What I wanted to get away from them was the power to plan, I didn't give a damn about building the buildings or paying people ^{to move} which was the Housing Authority's job, but their decisions on where projects should go, no possible way could I accept that. And that was our fight with them.

The Board of Education and the other ones, I didn't care about, because they were not involved in the development of the city so they were not in my area.

The Anti-poverty program did develop as a fifth agency and it was right through the riots. It mismanaged itself out of existence, basically. I mean, it is still there, but it became a giant that we had to cope with because of the Newark News. The Newark News had a reporter ^{who} ^{the} City Hall public relations man, Doug Eldridge, who was a good writer and captured the sense of meetings, He reported pages and pages of stuff on the anti-poverty program until it became a central issue in Newark. What it was doing, what was happening. We were confronted with the fact that there appeared to be large federal funds flowing in the direction of an agency which was essentially anti-city hall. It was a story told all over the country. Community action agencies were run ^{not run inward runs} by themselves. It was inappropriate for the federal government to arrange such a thing. We didn't see it as clearly I guess in 1962 and 63, the problem wasn't there. I had a clear picture of what I wanted to accomplish in government and I don't know what he wanted to accomplish. My job from 1964 to 1970 maintain and expand government's responsibility for the city in terms of both its physical development and in terms of its social program development. And it seems to me that the only way, ^{the touchstone}, as imperfect as it may be is

through the election in the democratic process. You can tell me that you are a community leader and you may be and you may not be, and you can tell it to a television guy and he may believe it, but me I have only one test -- when you are elected, you are supposed to make decisions and that's what you are elected to do for a certain specified period of time. In fact, you should have the power to make the key decisions or at least the key government decisions. If it means federal dollars, that's public money. Are you telling me that somebody other than the government, other than elected people, making public decisions, I can see them having a part in it, in the process, that seems sensible, even strengthening the process, but the essential process is election. When you are in a period like the mid 60s, when there is confusions all over and no one knows that's what happens. There is no compass no one knows which way is north anymore, so anything you said the press could not understand, because they had different ^{the thing was which amount of history had which anything was} ~~congresses~~ I would say that they ^{are} ~~are~~ going to get more than 50 acres and that there were 1,100 dwellings within this area and there were 5,000 people at the last ~~census~~. This was challenged by people who said that there were 6,000 dwellings and 25,000 people there. Now this was something anybody could have gone out and counted on the map, still that was debated for almost 2 years and which regularly some person who had his own interest, being black or white, would get up in front of the camera saying "they're going to move". At one time it was 90,000 people ^{they claimed we} ~~who~~ were going to move. Any number was good, it didn't matter, but it was a fact that you could count that there were 1,100 dwellings and 5,000 people. Nobody went and counted it themselves, but we would say that there were 1,100 dwellings and they would say no there are 25,000 people. I said, "What are you talking about." "Go to the census, you can see that there never were 25,000 people there." "No, Tom Hayden says there are 25,000 people there." When Tom Hayden said something, the press believed it. If Barack said it, the press believed it. If any jackass stood up and said it, it was believed. It didn't matter that they themselves seemed to take no responsibility for counting the dwellings. I mean, it wasn't hard to do. I would hand them the tax map, if they would read them. They said that I was lying. Tom Hayden was their hero. To me, it was very hard to communicate with your own constituency, with the people in Newark. How can you do it. Well, you can do it yourself, directly, through mailings. That's difficult. Furthermore, when they come in they your story. The community is wise, it seems to me to treat with skepticism those kind of things produced by the administration which is of course interested in keeping itself in power and going on and doing all kind of things. It wants and I think it is proper, a kind of separate or independent opinion or presentation of the facts so that it can make a better judgment. Now the

thing of the vehicle for this is most often the press and I, of course, as a newspaper man have a view of the press as more important than it probably is. But, there is a way of the community getting information outside of the press which is what it sees itself, what it feels intuitively about the situations, what cousins tell them about, etc. But much of it certainly comes, in Newark when it was a popular issue, it was on television everynight, because New York, couldn't cover New York, it could only cover here because it was fair game. There was a lot you couldn't do in New York under John Lindsay. That was well understood by all of us and discussed often. You could not go in, there were no riots or community upsets and civil disturbances in New York that could be covered the same way they were covered in Newark in 1967. That's home base, you protect home base. Freedom of the press increased in direct accordance with distance from home base. You could be very free reporting in Newark cause what do they have to lose, but you have to be careful because Lindsay was going to call your boss in New York. And further more, "it's New York, New York, it's a wonderful town." So New York reporters did not have to be cautious. The only reporters who were cautious at all were Newark reporters, Star Ledger, especially, who didn't understand exactly what was going on and kind of laid back on it trying not to get too much involved. The Newark News had the presumption it knew what it was doing and did pretty good reporting, really. I would credit the Newark News. The race reporting was good. They misfired on the medical school issue, but by and large, they did well. There was no way to deal with the New York press, or the national press. They were beyond belief, but nevertheless, they were the most influential things in Newark. If you turned on any station you would be watching some 17 year old girl or 26 year old actor or some other jackass interpreting what went on. He didn't know what the name of the actors were when he got there that night. He had a very difficult job, he's got to go on the air and in 90 seconds tell you what is going on in Newark. Those 90 seconds were crucial. They would kill, no matter how carefully you organized a series of community meetings, no matter what beliefs you had got across in direct confrontation with Tom Hayden, for example, and his nutty crew, 90 seconds that reached everybody in Newark -- you had reached 150 after weeks of work. This was terrifying, terrifying. To be in the grip of a lunatic press is a bad thing. Everybody knew Newark was going to riot in 1966, and Newark was big news in 1966 and got past it. Those marches and civil rights were fair game in 1965 and 1966, Newark was big news in race relations in 65 and 66. 1967 was just the culmination. Tom Hayden had a significant influence. He was always a press darling. He was a big actor and Barak (Leroy Jones) were press favorites

4a, continued (6)

A nice guy, bright guy. You remember, you are seeing my perception of the guy dealing with the press and I'm sure that someone who could take a broader view would see it differently. I found a lot of difficulty in expressing my own beliefs about the difficulties and powers and dangers and the really fantastic things which were happening. And some of them dangerous and difficult, I'm not saying they were fantastically great, but real interesting story of the black community groping to power and the white community trying to come to terms with that within some framework of a democracy. Then there was the civil war. Instead of some sort of development in American democracy which was bound to happen in the cities and which had to be managed in a sensible way and that there were people of good will on both sides. The more dramatic the thing is the more it is going to attract attention. It is hard to be dramatic when you are a city official. You just act in a responsible way and try to say responsible things because you are responsible for what is going on. So you are trying to be as responsible as hell and there are a lot of people who are willing to do that, but they are really not as photogenic as Baraka jumping up and down -- they loved him. I loved him too, I liked to watch him perform -- he's great. Tom Hayden was a son of a bitch.

Well, I consider myself the government in 68, 69 to 1970 since the Mayor was somewhat distracted. And I think that he was very responsive to whatever we wanted to do in our agency. Our agency was to retain in the shambles a viable government which would continue to exercise government functions and to put its house in order, which went on to do the things we said we were going to do and to turnover either to ourselves or whoever was going to replace us a government which was functioning and still had momentum and direction. All we tried to do was to convince the federal government, the state government and the black community and everybody else that despite the disaster of 1967 that the government existed that it retained its essential rights of responsibility, obligations and that the only way you were going to take office or get positions was to win the election. K is a friend of mine, I like him a lot. We met together in the anti-poverty agency and I liked him then and I liked him throughout the whole thing. I didn't like his endorsement by an all black conference which banned whites. I don't think he had the right to ask for white votes after that. He did and got some and won, but he himself is a decent guy and his attempt to take office was appropriate. He moved to the process, he established himself as the leader by running in 1966, but he went through the process that people are supposed to do and that process is an orderly controlled revolution. Is there anything deader than a politician losing

La. continued (7)

his office². I've said this a hundred times -- what is the process other than every four years and two for for a congressman, to line up city officials, they beg for their lives and the firing squad then decides to execute them or not. Every four years -- a total revolution -- you're executed if you haven't done good. That's it, you don't jump up and down in the streets. What are you going to get -- three years -- so you get them out of office a year earlier. Big deal. You wait to have them executed. They drop dead and you never see them again. Leo P. Carlin, the perfect example. He's never been interviewed in 18 years -- he's an invisible man. It's ridiculous -- he's executed. So why in the world would you want to jump up and down and do all that other kind of stuff². Kill yourself and have other people killed -- it's an ugly confrontation. When you can do that every four years -- that's the nature of ^{American} democracy. That's the nature of controlled revolution. ^{Even} That seemed to be good enough and so our intent in 1968 and 1969 was to impress upon everybody -- we didn't care how much people jumped up and down, ^{As long as they were ready to run for election.} ^{Baraka came in 54 or 64} Four were elected for each district. ^{He lost} A little black lady with tennis shoes the whole thing, a nice socially-minded lady -- it was wonderful. He was a pretty good fellow. All in all if I had to judge the quality or the types who were around, I think Baraka got a little wobbly and was out of line a little during the 60s in terms of mixing up his role as a poet and that of a political activist. The rhetoric, his poetry was often used maybe not with his intent, but I don't think he was a violent sort, I don't think that was his intention. He was often articulate in a most profound wishes of an aroused black community. He always was a smart guy and I think willing to be in the process. He was an intelligent guy and negotiations with him over model cities and that sort, he would listen and pay attention, he understood he had a position and you were dealing with a guy where there was some rational basis for making agreements and I take him to be an acceptable wing of quite a wide political spectrum. Tom Hayden, I don't. I consider Tom Hayden to be outside that. Television made Baraka . He was the only one who could get television time, so you had to put up with him -- he was a television star. He was a real guy. He got kicked out of New York, I guess and came home. I think he is bright.

Knowledgeables Interview

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5a. There are lots of ways a mayor can exercise influence. Let me read you a few statements, and you tell me--again by using a 1-7 point scale, whether the statement was definitely true about Mayor Addonizio during this time in office or definitely not true. Use 7 if the statement is definitely true and 1 if it is definitely not true. (Field Director record scale responses).

- a. The mayor could easily work his will in the city council. 6
- b. The mayor effectively controlled the department heads in the city government. 6 *opinion from the police department*
- c. The mayor was a very effective grantsperson in getting money from the federal and state governments. 7
- d. The mayor had excellent relationships with the local business community. 6, 1
- e. The mayor could command media attention any time he wanted it. 1, 2

b. I gave you four mayors, there might be a fifth. I think I would add a fifth to that. The Police Department ran in those days as a separatist organization, in a way. Spina was a political power, himself in a way. He was a ranking Republican with a major following in the North Ward. The Mayor always treated him with all kinds of deference, which I could never understand. Those reasons might have been different than the ones that I perceived. Sitting from where I was at that particular time and what I was often told was that Spina was a considerable political influence in the white community up above, before Imperiale was, and that he was highly regarded by the police themselves and that was apparently true. They were pretty supportive of him. That he was more liberal, than he appeared, which was true. Careful about how the police involved in the community. He was sensitive to how the police approached the black community. And all those things I took to be true, but I never did understand why he was the lightning rod for the gambling stuff. *Later on I didn't like him* Why 1 him he was a wonderful guy but it would be best for the administration if he left, and we went through this. One time during one of the police strikes I thought we had an opportunity to get rid of Dick, but the Mayor wouldn't. It seems that he was afraid of him in some ways. It may be that as the Mayor's subsequent trial indicated that there were reasons which were beyond my understanding. The police were not part of that trial. It maybe that there were some gambling or other sorts of arrangements, I don't know, but it was certainly true. *It was certainly true that* you had to negotiate, sort of, with Spina. He was more cautious with Spina than he was with others. As a matter of fact, I think he ran rough-shot over everyone else. Spina was the only one he was cautious with. The police are organized, they vote, they collect a lot of money and they are a political force. Maybe they are not as big a force as the other four, but they are a considerable force. *They collected a lot of money and one big campaign contribution, I should*

5a. continued (1)

d. I think the mayor had about 6 when he came in and had a relationship of about 1 when he left. The business community was interested in him because he was able to control the black community. When he was not, it became apparent to them that they needed a black mayor and they had to get rid of him. So they did everything possible to get rid of him after 1967. They mostly financed black groups and also brought to bear pressures on the Governor which led to the infamous Governor's Commission which found ^{that} an air of corruption ^{caused the riot,} which was a riot in itself. First of all it was the State Police's riot and the Governor's riot, lest we forget that little fact. Everybody got killed when the Governor and his troups arrived. That Commission was headed by Bob Lilly, ^{of Bell, Ark,} it's influence was mighty and it produced a document which was designed to be used to remove the gentleman. ^{I think they wanted considerable influence to arrange to continue corruption funds.} They needed to have him out of the way. It was totally understandable and nothing wrong with that. As long as there was peace in the town, he was good and as far as they could see, that was all he was good for. He was not particularly pro business. ^{He was not comfortable with the business leaders.} he gave them what they wanted which was development. As long as he gave them what they wanted, he was good, when he couldn't, then he wasn't terrific. That the business community going around, making its decisions like businessmen do in the real world and it can become violent. Nobody felt bad about that, but that's true,

e. I would guess that moved from a about 1 or 2 to about 6 at the end. He couldn't get it in 1962. Who would come over and give a damn about what he said, but by the time he left, anything he said they would come over for. I don't exactly call it command, that's a word that is too strong. He wasn't exactly commanding it, he was more or less responding to the news at the end. But certainly, if he called the news conference, everybody came. The Mayor could be subjected to the media, but command is funny. Do you mean that he could present his case to the media at any time -- I would say 2. But if you say he was talking about corruption and stuff - defending himself, that is a 7.

Knowledgeables Interview

6a. Now, let's talk about Mayor Addonizio's overall power and influence in the city. Some mayors--like Richard J. Daley, for example--seemed to be real powerhouses in their city, able to get things done. Others seem to be almost a cipher in city politics, never really able to affect events or to shape policies their own way. Again using a 7 point scale, where 7 is a powerhouse and 1 is a cipher, where would you put Mayor _____? (Field Director record scale response)

Scale Response _____

*started as 4 rose to 7, fell to 4
64-65, 66,*

PROBE: e.g. How did the power of the mayor change over the time of his administration?

I think he was a doer, he was perceived as a powerhouse in 1967, very much like Daley as a matter of fact. I would say he started out as a 4, rose to about a 7 in the middle and fell off to a 3 at the end. Well, he got almost 45% of the vote when he was indited. His ability to get things done was good. I would say he was a four at the end, because he was still able to get a lot of things done. When he first arrived, there was some question of who he was, what he could do. He could do the things mayors do. Mayors in Newark have some power, so I would give it a 4. He was a very effective guy in 64, 65, 66. He was a powerhouse. He was perceived to be the next governor. He was popular with everybody, re-elected. Although the first crack came in 1966. We were all shocked. It came in the last weeks of the 66 campaign. It translated Gibson who was unknown, didn't show in the polls. We had to run other names to get what the black vote was going to be. They presented him to win, because there had been a Cleveland election just before that. Stokes in that election did not win, but it was a very close election and then the next time around, he won. That was my recollection of that. I forget, maybe he had just won or he had just barely lost. They came rushing in and we had some dummy from CBS who ^{they had moved it with other volume out going to record again.} sat up here for a week. Every night for a week or ten days you were confronted with a news special which opened up everyday the same way. During the last 5 days, all the other stations had to join and it opened up like this: "Newark, New Jersey may be the first major city to get a black mayor." Well, he wasn't shown on the polls at all -- zero. It was a battle between Carlin, the Mayor and about 5 other guys -- city council pres., a judge, a mayor, Republican businessman. Ken was

6a. continued (1)

thrown in basically by a guy named George Richardson who was interested in running for Central Ward Council. The Mayor decided to support his old supporter, Turner, and Richardson said he was going to put Gibson into the race. It was not spite, it was a negotiation over whether we would A. keep hands off the Central Ward race and B. Give George Richardson a certain amount of money. The Mayor declined and George put him up as sort of an annoyance. No one in Newark understood the reality of votes, ^{that} that he had a chance at all. It was ~~this~~ ^{this fellow who came in and said he's a 5 day} It would say, Civil Engineer, Kenneth Gibson, was running and it would be Ken against the burned out thing, and as far as Then it would say, also running is Mayor Addonizio and these other guys, For 5 days, Channel two was running this thing. Then Channel 7 and Channel 4 -- they all had to come over and see what was going on because Channel 2 had been running this thing for 5 days. So the last week was a blitz and they all opened up the same way which said: "Newark may become the first elected in 1970, the 1970s." Then you would say, "Who the hell is Ken Gibson?" That's what In fact a week before television arrived, we could not get a reading on him. So we had Oliver Quayle doing the poll. He is quite good, with the national government and all. He had to substitute Richardson's name to get any reading from the black community, ~~then he~~ ^{Ken Gibson} got about 15 or 20% of the vote which was good, a tremendous performance, an astonishing performance -- it put us into a runoff. We got 48% of the vote. He got 10% or 12% or 15% -- he should have got zero. Maybe he got 20%. It was surprising that he got such a big vote, because what happened was it was said he was going to win. If asked who said so, the answer was Channel 4 said so. I heard it myself in my own neighborhood. I was standing on the line in Kraft Drugs -- Gibson, Gibson, He can't win -- He's going to win -- Who says he's going to win? -- Channel 4 says he's going to win. I said, "Channel 4 said he's going to win?" "Yeah, Channel 4 said he's going to win." And you just hear it right there on the line. Channel 4 said that he was going to win. Well you vote for the guy you think is going to win. Sure, you don't want to throw your vote away. To the Black community, we were trying to present things the way that we saw then which was that we were the great liberal guys who had done all kinds of wonderful things, fighting off the evil spirits coming back from the past. We were outflanked -- you can't be pearl black when you've got a black guy running -- after all, he's black. I mean, you can do anything, but change the color of your skin. So he got this vote. The television guys were destroyed. They walked out of that city and never gave Gibson another line because he had done so poorly in their view. I don't try to tell them "Don't you understand, he can't win this time. Next time maybe, the demographics." It was like trying to tell them about 1,100 structures -- they didn't understand it. So he did get the votes and the mayor was shocked. I think it was a bad thing, because the Black community were in split.

6a. continued (2)

I think it shook the mayor's confidence in his ability to deal with the black community. It also shook his trust and belief in his ability to make decisions pro-black decisions, because he could always win the election in the black community. For example, in 1966 he would still lose in the white community. The combined white ^{candidate} got more votes than he did, in the white community, always, but he always won somehow. In 1966 he was confronted and shocked by the fact that that might not be true. Looking back on it, it was to effect a whole range of decisions he made. Some of our closest political allies, Timmy Still, Eulis Ward -- they really said, it would be difficult for them to go to another campaign. Ward was the Central Ward Democratic Leader and Timmy Still was the community saint and our major political guide, the black community guide. Both of them had difficult times standing up for a white candidate. I think the mayor was a liberal man and I think that liberal men in the 50s and 60s all wanted some sort of, were naive enough to want, the approbation of the blacks for whom we were doing so much, Don said sarcastically. Otherwise it will appear in the book as saying "for whom we did so much, clap!" There was a liberal notion since you were ^{the big action} the big fellow, they are supposed to be grateful. And the liberals were being kicked in the face all over the country and didn't like it because they were being confronted with the fact that blacks didn't want to be grateful, they wanted to be equal. That might even have exceeded what the liberals had in mind. They were for equality and gratitude and the blacks were for equality, period.

Knowledgeables Interview

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7. Thinking about people like Hubert Humphrey, Jacob Javits, and George McGovern as liberals, and people like Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan as conservatives, where would you put Mayor Addonizio's own political stance during this period. On the scale provided, 7 represents a liberal stance and 1 is a conservative stance. (Field Director record scale response).

Scale response 7

PROBE: e.g. What were some of the reasons you classified him this way? Did he seem to get more liberal or more conservative as his incumbency went on?

Hubert Humphrey loved the Mayor. Humphrey called the mayor in the middle of the riot and talked to him and reassured him. The Mayor thought Humphrey was the greatest living man. He continued to call the Humphrey election *against Nixon* when Humphrey was down in the polls, he said Humphrey was going to win, don't sell this guy short. He was the only Democrat to support Humphrey. He used to talk about him as if he was a genius, a great man, but he talks too much. He said if Humphrey didn't talk so much, if he didn't show off how smart he was, he'd do better. Humphrey was kind of like his guy. He's say Javits was a son of a bitch -- he was a Republican and his wife was tightly tied to BaraKa. During the riots, she called, Jake Javits called so we were stunned. We picked it up and it was Mrs. Javits' press agent worried that Barachas was arrested, which he was. Would the Mayor assure that he was not beaten up and that he would be taken care of. I think the Mayor liked Jake Javits -- I didn't know him very well. But Humphrey knew him, I think they were in Congress together. George McGovern was beyond the pale -- he was Tom Hayden's man,

On this scale, I think Humphrey and Javits would get a 6 and McGovern as he presented himself in the campaign would get a 7. But I would present the Mayor as a 6. He was dealing with reality. If Humphrey, Javits and McGovern are all lumped together as 7, your instrument is flawed. They are not perceived as the same. McGovern destroyed Humphrey, Jake Javits is a Republican -- how can you put them in the same category -- it's crazy. Well, on your scale ^{*Addonizio*} he would be 7, on any normal scale, he would be a 6. And Jake Javits would be a 5. Republicans just cannot be as liberal as Democrats. He was a liberal guy all the way, he was an ADA Democrat, he ^{*used to get*} 100% votes, all that stuff. He was the most liberal man I ever met as a public official -- totally committed -- I think he was color blind -- it never went to his mind. The first shock was 1966 -- he didn't understand it, really. And then he lost track in 70 of what he was doing

7. continued (1)

I could show you the polls. His biggest problem in the white community was ^{to be} seen as "nigger lover". That was his problem. He was always perceived as this, which was the irony of his experience in Newark and the irony of many liberals, since he was not alone. But he could never win in the white community, he always split the white community or barely lose it and win the black community. The reason was that he was always perceived as pro-black. He always had Larry Storks hanging around, a strong political black leader. All the Quail polls showed all the time, that was his problem in the white community. I think that in 65, 66 leading up to 67 and the decisions he made in 67 such as the Wilbur Parker fight and some other stuff, ended being distracted by the people who were telling him he was going to run for Governor.

Wilbur Parker was our budget officer, black man. Arnold Hess, the secretary to the Board of Education was retiring and we proposed to the city council -- we didn't propose, it was believed that the mayor was supporting a city councilman and the black community presented Wilbur Parker as the candidate. The Mayor was kind of asked to chose and he shouldn't have been involved at all but he had a strong interest in having that chair filled by the guy in the city council. Wilbur was his own budget officer, but he didn't think Wilbur would be a good man over there. He just didn't want Wilbur there. That was translated into a racial issue. Callahan was perfect for the job and Wilbur was the worst ^{choice} in the world. The way in which it was presented to the community was difficult -- ^{they} I presumed it was a budget sort of position, education oriented -- in truth that was the Superintendent's job and the Board's ^{secretary was really patronage.} I asked Wilbur if ^{instructed to answer} he would announce that maybe he wasn't interested and it turned out that he was. ^A it paid a ton of money. The mayor wouldn't talk to him. He said that if he wanted the job, it was okay with him. He should have nouthed back, but don't support Callahan. Some other people in the administration said that if you back down on this, Mayor, you are going to confirm all around the state that it's a big issue, in a time when the communities in the rest of the state are anti-black. I don't think that information would have cut much ice with him prior to 66, I gather that at least he stayed sort of neutral without indicating where he was at, but it was generally presented that he was kind of for Callahan which he was and I couldn't get him to reverse that, which was unusual because I could get him to do almost anything that was community or black sort of stuff. But he wouldn't budge on that. I think that he was looking to the state which was a mistake or he was listening to the people who told him that the state perceives him

7. continued (2)

this way and the polls showed that they did. What was true in Newark, was true in the state. He was too urban and too liberal. Irony! That's it. Did he get more conservative — I don't think so.

Knowledgeables Interview

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Interviewer: If not plainly and widely known ask #8

8. Do you happen to know if the mayor was a Democrat, a Republican, or an Independent?

Democrat.

He wasn't a Democratic mayor, though. He was a Democrat in Congress, he ran as a non-partisan mayor and continued largely, at least his first term as a Republican supported Democrat and then took Democratic Party endorsement and continued as a Democrat during his second term. But he was never a Party regular.

Knowledgeables Interview

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9. Now let's talk about race relationships in your city during this time. Were there any particular issues around which racial conflict evolved? If so, what were they?

Knowledgeables Interview

10. Now, I'd like to direct your attention to the activities of various groups in the city political system at this time. In particular, I'd like to ask you to focus on four issues often faced by city governments.

--first, the problem of economic development, things like urban redevelopment, downtown revitalization, attracting industry, economic growth, and jobs

--second, the problem of minority jobs with the city government

--third, the city budget and problems like tax rates, spending priorities, and which agencies got support

--fourth, the efforts of the city to get grants and other aid from the state and federal government

Taking these four areas, I'd like you to assess the influence of various groups. Assign each of these groups a score from 1 to 7. Let 7 stand for a group whose support was indispensable to getting anything done in that area, or whose opposition was certain to kill any action. Let 1 stand for a group which had absolutely no influence or impact in that policy area.

(Interviewer: Hand informant the attached list asking him/her about each group's influence. Field Director record responses)

*See following page for recording responses.

Knowledgeables Interview

Question #10

City I.D. _____

Interview No. _____

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	<u>economic development</u>	<u>minority hiring</u>	<u>budgetary policies</u>	<u>grants/federal and state</u>
<u>Groups</u>				
a. labor leaders	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
b. minority groups	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
c. political parties	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
d. the mayor	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
e. business leaders	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
f. municipal employees	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
g. neighborhood groups	<u>7, 3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
h. civic, public interest groups (e.g. the League of Women Voters)	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
i. the police chief	<u>1</u>	<u>7 chief</u>	<u>5 chief</u>	<u>5</u>
j. newspapers & the media	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
k. city manager	_____	_____	_____	_____

Director of Public Works!

10. continued (1)

- a. I would say for economic development - 3. I don't think they were crucial to economic development. Minority hiring within city government, labor unions, I would say 1. On budgetary policies, I would say 3, sometimes those guys would have something to say over at the Board of Ed. I would think they were helpful in getting grants and federal aid. I would say 3. Labor leaders were good dressing to put on grants.
- b. Your not talking about urban renewal here, you are talking about economic development. I see, you have urban renewal right in it. This is a 7 and Minority hiring is 7 also. You couldn't do anything without at least having the acquiescence, you might not need their support, but I consider acquiescence to be important. Budgetary policies would be 4, because if there was a big Board of Ed, there would be a lot of objection. It didn't apply evenly. Grants and aid I would give a 6. It was pretty hard to get any grant unless it were approved by minority groups. Some departments cared a lot, like housing and development and the old anti-poverty agency, HEV would start to move in that direction. The other departments didn't give a damn.
- c. For grants I would think maybe 3 or 4. Because when the Democrats were in office, it didn't hurt to have the Democratic party backing. I would say 3. It was hard to get the party to express itself on those things.
- d. The Mayor is a 7 across the board. You couldn't do anything in Newark without the Mayor. He was indispensable.
- e. It was good to have their support for economic development and for grants, but it wasn't crucial.
- f. For Grants I would give it a 2, because sometimes you had opposition in the department. They only wanted money on their own terms and our muddleheaded, social or liberal approach didn't always go down too well with a lot of those guys down in the sanitation, when we get into rat control. They knew a whole lot about their business and we didn't and such of the things we put in those applications struck them as hilarious and they, of course, were right. I have since learned the way to deal with departments is quite different from the way I did then. I've learned a lot. Too bad I'm not in city government now, I'd probably be good.
- g. The neighborhood groups had almost nothing to do with things like attracting industry and economic growth. They had everything to do with urban redevelopment

10 continued (2)

and the various EDA projects they had nothing to say. They weren't fighting over EDA money. EDA is the Economic Development Administration which put a lot of money in Newark it worked through the Department of Commerce. Newark was one of those high impact cities which had special Economic Development Administration grant. Tons of money and all kinds of grants and loans and stuff. We had an Economic Development Planning Unit in my office, funded entirely by that. Crackpot economists and other wackos. They were good and they did some fun stuff. They surveyed the riot area to determine what the damage was. I didn't know it either, no one knew it. They did a house-to-house, rather, store-by-store survey. So I really know what happened in 1967. We had this terrific survey done by the Economic Development. They never published anything, but it is in the city's records, I probably have one laying around my house. So neighborhood groups had a 7 on urban development and probably like a three on everything else. For urban development, you couldn't do a thing with neighborhood approval, but the others I might average to 3 or 4.

There are no public interest groups that
h. The anti-poverty program in Newark in 64 and 65 eliminated *the anti-poverty program* ⁱⁿ agencies. It became the social agency sort of thing and then all the other agencies had to relate to it to get their money. It became the United Way. It happened all over the country. The United Way type agencies were important prior to the poverty program work, in cities like Newark it obliterated councils of social agencies where there was ~~one~~ paid staff, ~~were now~~ confronted by a huge black agency that covered every neighborhood in Newark and which had 75 paid staff. If you use the League of Women Voters as an example, Economic Development - 2, Minority hiring - 3, City budget - 3, I remember we had those groups coming in -- the tax payers association. Actually, it may have been 4 when it came to the city budget, because we had those groups coming in and we had to pay attention to them. Grants - 1.

i. He had nothing to say about the rest of the departments, but had everything to say about his own department. I would give him a 7 on the police department and a 1 for everything else. City budget, likewise, he would get about 5 for the police department. No, I would give him a 6 for the police department budget and a 1 for everything else. The law enforcement presence as it was created and organized in my department was handled by a surrogate social worker type rather than the law enforcement type, Bill Drake. Bill was, was doing the city planning, putting education first. Bill was a good man and did good work, but

10. continued (3)

his notion was vaguely liberal, social, sort of anti-poverty approach to things, social justice, etc., which was the notion LEAA at that time presented to the world. It was presented as an anti-police notion, something to moderate police, at least it was perceived that way in Newark. It was perceived as a program designed to have the mayor and those social types moderate the police department, put in new state bureaus and all kinds of things.

Some other cities where there were different dynamics, I'm sure went for the hardware. Newark didn't. And this poor police chief didn't have a thing to say about it. I think I would say for grants in his department it would be about 4 or 5, it was not indispensable, a lot of stuff was worked around his department. I would give him a 5 for that. For the rest, I would give him a 1.

j. You are talking about the Newark News and the Star Ledger. I would say 6 for the first one, six for the next one, too. Their

support wasn't indispensable, but it was an important consideration.

6 for budgetary policies and 3, or 4 maybe for grants. The feds didn't know whether the newspaper were in support and that's all that counted. I would probably give them a 3. The question is whether it was indispensable or not. I think in a, it was important to get the community behind and that was a good thing. In minority jobs, that was good, in the budget, they were always yapping about the tax rate, you could never explain it, naturally. I feel weakest about my judgment for j. It was hard for me to remember how I worried about, or whether I worried about it.

11. Power is distributed in many different ways. We've listed some of them on this list. Understanding it is very difficult to make broad generalizations, please tell us for each description where your city would rank on the 7 point scale. On the scale, 7 represents the position closest to the description as it is printed and 1 means the city does not fit the description at all.

- a. Important local decisions were made by a lot of different types of groups such as civic, labor, business, and city officials, and others. Each group protected its own turf and could usually prevent policies they disliked. 6
- b. Basically it was the mayor and other elected officials who really ran things. Very little happened that the mayor didn't push for. 5
- c. The professional administrators, department heads, and civil servants in city agencies really ran things. The city bureaucracies were more powerful than everyone else. 3
- d. Actually, big business people really ran the government here. They were the heads of the largest corporations and dominated the local political structure. Things went pretty much the way they wanted. 2

(Field Director record scale responses)

PROBE: e.g. How would you say that the structure of power in _____ (city) has been changing recently? Did it seem to change over the period of Mayor _____'s years in office? In what ways?

- a. I would say that that is a 6.
- b. I would say this one is a 5. Obviously the mayor didn't push for rioting, nor did he push for black power, or anti-poverty. It is true that very little happened that the mayor didn't push for in many things, but some things he didn't want to happen, happen anyway. If you had to deal with the guy in Housing Authority, he was not an elected official, or the Board of M, they were not elected officials. Appointed officials had a lot to say.
- c. If somebody was evaluating me, they would say 7. They would say that I was a professional administrator and they would rank me as being powerful, and I guess I was. *[Self this statement applies to department heads]* They would get a 3. Some of the agencies were important. The police department, etc.
- d. I would give them a 2. They had a lot to say with downtown renewal and had nothing to say about the anti-poverty program, just to lend it support. They thought that Addonizio was terrific as long as he kept the blacks in line and they thought he was awful when he couldn't. I don't think they were ever in charge.

11. continued (1)

They were reactors. In Carlin's day, they ran the show. Urban renewal was a business community creation. Their support was really important. In those days, what the business community told the media was taken to be true. Remember the fifties, *business journalist* ~~journalist~~ thought it was serious. The Newark News and they had an alliance. Of course, what big business had to say in the 60s was taken a little less seriously.

The black community became more powerful, the business community became less powerful and the white community became less powerful. That's it. In the black community, there was a change in the power structure from an essentially middle road, moderate, older, preacher, teacher *sort* of thing, to a younger, less moderate, civil right activist.

Black political groups continued to increase in importance. I would guess that when Addonizio first got there, he took the business community into account and that as time went on, he took them less into account. I would think that he took the white community into account in the beginning and continued at the end, although he was dealing with a different white community. He was dealing with what he perceived to be an essentially kind of liberal or moderate white community and he was dealing with what was a radicalized white community at the end. He was dealing with a moderate black community when, he thought when he began the same thing and at the end, he was dealing with a more radical black community. That's the way I saw it. The business community vanished as far as I'm concerned from a basically pro government stance, not too crucial, but nice to have, to a basically anti-government stance, which had its influence behind the scenes, but which was not particularly crucial up front. The white community went from a moderate position to a radical position. It's leadership capability dwindled. And the black community went from a moderate to a more radical position, as its leadership changed from the preachers to the street fighters. I don't mean street fighters in the riotous sense, I meant they were more militant. I don't like to call them civil rights activists. I judged the many black people that I knew and worked with, who were judged to be Uncle Toms who had a fierceness about civil rights, that those young people couldn't perceive. It was so cruel to hear them attacked and to have some feeling or sense as much as one could relate to that thing, not being black. How much they had given up, how much they had suffered, how much they had really seen. To hear some of the stories of the older blacks about how God awful it was in Newark. You sat there and listened to Timmy Still

11. continued ()

or Larry Gork talk about the way it was -- you really could see the price they paid to try to ^{in America} moderate, to stay with the structure in some way and their trust in democracy was so touching and true, because it was working. And to hear them being humiliated or attacked -- it was very hard for me to relate to that. I understood, but maybe I was so shocked by it -- I continued to reinterpret it always in political science terms, but there was just a squabble over who was going to get there first. It is hard for me to believe that Bob Curvin in his heart thought that the preachers or middle class blacks ^{and} were trying to be middle class decent sorts, imitate whites and that was the view of the ~~Civil Rights~~ guys in those days. ^{it is hard for me to believe that these guys wanted civil rights} I guess they felt that they weren't pushing hard enough and I guess they weren't, I don't know. That's for another age to judge. There was all kinds of mixed feelings and sadness in that scramble. So that's how it changed. You were dealing with the younger, more direct sort of guy who hadn't paid a hell of a lot of dues for many years, but who was more dramatic and who captured the mood of the majority of the people in that point of time. It translated into a quite moderate Ken Gibson administration, by the way. Right back into the middle ^{of the streets}. He was a middle ~~stream~~ ^{stream} guy all the way and nice. I used to say then although I haven't thought about it much lately, that it was healthy to have extreme wings to a political debate and to what was going on as long as everybody understood the difference between the wing and the center of the stage. What happened in the middle 60s is that everybody in the country, Lyndon Johnson, down, I like to exempt myself, I never misunderstood that Jones (or Baraka) was an interesting wing and it would make me furious to have him treated as a center. I understood what Tom Hayden was and I understood where I stood in opposition to that, I consider myself close to the center, and naturally, every man likes to think he's the center, so it wasn't ^{as} so miraculous, but I think the society as a whole in its civil rights movement, culminated, it seemed so right and just that the more extreme the demands, the more those demands were treated and taken to be mainstream things -- so these guys ~~were~~ ^{were} mainstream for a moment and that's a serious mistake. I don't think that Bara ^{was} happy and content to be in the mainstream. He likes to be where he is which is effecting impacting decisions by being out there somewhere. Bob Curvin I perceived as kind of a Puritan sort, who stayed close to the universities, after he played the game, always stayed close as kind of a middle class observer, the way I would and anyone else would -- he didn't have to be white or black and that was his way. He's a commentator on the scene, he's the ^{conscience} of it all. I knew we were in trouble

He would be a touch in '67.

11. continue ()

in 1967 when he left a meeting in the Mayor's office. In 64, 65, 66 they used to pull together these big community meetings about a crisis -- all black leadership would come in and ~~sell at the mayor and he~~ would accommodate them in some way and they would go out calmed down or they would agree to march or not march or whatever, but agreed to stay within the arena of public dissent. When Bob left, he said, "I have to go to a meeting". All kinds of tremors went to my head, because he never did that, he was a key guy, he was pure and he was highly articulate and ~~massive~~ ^{big} -- way out there -- you couldn't get around him, because he couldn't be a further wing. Bob was perceived as the big radical. In fact, he was in the traditional terms of what was going on in ^{American debate} but he was being outflanked because in a crucial point of time the range was stretched and into that and so he was able to be outflanked by the Barakas. ^{and character from what} Colonel Nassans and other creeps and that was a bad ~~moment~~ ^{moment} for Newark and for the country.

Knowledgeables Interview

II. Crime and Police Issues on the City Agenda

12. Focusing specifically on the areas of crime and law enforcement, here is a list of issues that are sometimes faced by cities. How significant were these issues to the city's political leadership during Mayor Adinolfi's term. Please use our 7 point scale, where 1 is not an issue and 7 represents a very significant issue. (Field Director record scale responses)

Issues

(very significant, not an issue)

- a. violent crime 5-7
- b. property crimes 5-7
- c. organized crime 2-3, 7
- d. narcotics 2, 3
- e. police unionization 3
- f. racial unrest 2-7
- g. police relations with minority communities 4-7
- h. police corruption 5-6
- i. backlog of criminal courts 2
- j. jail conditions 2
- k. police brutality 3-7 by 1965
- l. juvenile gangs 3-7

PROBE: e.g. Tell me a little about why you thought _____ (the very significant issues) were important issues. Are there some things which are not on this list which seemed to be pretty important during this period?

- a. 5 to 7, not much of a change from start to finish.
- b. Property crime was the same thing. It was a high issue, very important -- it moved up if anything over the time, particularly in the aftermath of the riots.
- c. I guess it was a 4 at the beginning. Organized crime is a problem because by and large, the issue in Newark was whether the government as typified by the Mayor, was an organized crime figure and which he was found guilty of being. How do I answer that. I think that at first the issue was a 3 -- cross that 3 out. It was a high ranking, public issue -- the Newark News made it a public issue. 2 in the beginning, may be 2. I never heard of a city say, "now let's get organized crime." What I heard was "what are we going to do about the confrontation between police

12. continued (1)

and the black community, what are we going to do about crime rates and what are we going to do about all the robberies. Those are the only issues of crime that I knew of. And what are we going to do about the attack on us for not supporting the gambling laws. Those were the big issues in the 60s that became less important when the Mayor himself was indicted for being part of the Mafia or at least being associated with Mafia characters. It's a very awkward question in Newark to answer. It became a 7 at the end when the government was accused of being organized crime. Great, it was wonderful to be part of an organization that was charged with being dominated by organized crime. I can assure you it was not.

d. For some reason, narcotics rated less than the other things I have told you. I just don't know why. I would say it would be probably around a 2 and I guess it got up to somewhere about 5. Drug traffic and all that stuff was not as horrendous an issue in Newark as violent crime and black/white confrontations. And then a lot of crime in black confrontation and property crimes -- they were believed to be tied to narcotics, often committed by addicts, but narcotics itself was about a 5 -- important, but not pertinent.

e. Police unionization - I don't recall anything crucial. They were on strike every other day. I would say somewhere around 3 or 2. They fought a lot. There were two groups included in the police department, I forget what they were called. One was the Fraternal order of something. They fought back and forth.

g. Police relations in minority community I would say started out around 4 and went to 7.

f. Racial unrest - I think it was 2 in 1962 and I guess it was 7 in the end. Likewise police relations sort of followed the same pattern.

h. Police corruption -- I think was a 5 in the beginning and a 6 at the end.

i. Backlog of criminal courts -- I never heard of it. 2.

j. Jail conditions - 2

k. Police brutality - I would say from about 3 to 7. I think it went up gradually. It was certainly to 7 by 1965 and then it continued. Police brutality was a code word for the black community the same way violent crime was or crime in the streets was in the white community. A moderate white community could get at the black community and express its frustration and hostility probably by using such phrases as crime in the streets and so on. ^{and crime rates} The black community can express its frustration by talking about police brutality. They were kind of a parallel. ^{its frustration} ^{and hostility} ^{expressed hostility} ^{to the white world} ^{and being treated unfairly.} ^{being black in a white world and being held in all that kind of stuff and being treated unfairly.}

12. continued (2)

It gave a channel to all the which discrimination must bring to bear on a community. Even if there wasn't police brutality, I think there would have been a lot of complaints about brutality. The police are kind of a presence and they have got to bear the brunt of that kind of thing.

1. Juvenile gangs - I think they are about a 3. Gangs were not an issue in those particular days. You know like the Juniors or the Pliers and such like Philadelphia had. I would give it a 3 at the beginning and 1 at the end.

Knowledgeables Interview

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13. Thinking back to the Mayor's years in office, did anything extraordinary happen that you recall regarding law enforcement with regard to the states attorney's office, the courts, or the jails? If so, what was it?

a. states attorney's office -- Yes, absolutely. They were the prime instrument by which the Newark News dissatisfaction with our support of the gambling laws from the earliest days right through to the transformation into the corruption probe which eventually led to the indictment of the mayor. ^{into the city hall} It was a single probe -- began with Byrne and continued throughout his stewardship, which was kind of a confrontation and challenge between a Byrne lieutenant, I forget his name, ^{who had} a personal distaste for Spina and a personal distaste for this guy. Spina was often presented as the Republican candidate for Sheriff and was going to take over the city hall in that particular office and throw out a lot of guys and stuff like that. There was a lot

~~xxxxxxx~~ of political guff that went on. It was the Newark News bluenose approach to gambling, which that it was bad, that numbers were bad. So there were a series of presentments and indictments which began very early and continued through 1965 and 1966 and then they were transformed into a continuing probe leading from the gambling to all sorts of things which were carried by the prosecutors office under Joe Loria and which carried on and eventually when they reached a deadend. I think Picciotelli, (Assistant Prosecutor) and somebody or other, I don't know how many years ^{he had} spent on it, came to a deadend -- then the work was picked up by the U.S. Attorney ^{newly appointed} and transformed into the indictment. o they were ^{very} serious ~~xxxxxxx~~ consideration in Newark in the ~~administration~~ ^{administration} from the beginning to the end. Some might say, they were more important than the black community. After all, that put the man in the penitentiary for 5 years. He didn't get sentenced, he served 5 years -- it destroyed him, most of the people around him. It destroyed anything he tried to do. It destroyed him. He destroyed himself, of course, by the fact of taking some public works kickback. He was a good man otherwise, but in the end you have to be honest, after all. He wasn't and he was destroyed. I'm not sure which it was -- whether it was the black community uprise that destroyed his reputation as a liberal, but it was ironic. I think in the long term it would have been rehabilitated in the black community by those who were there. Aldomizio was pro-black. He was trapped in the end, he was not able to respond in the same pro-black way he was when he had confidence in himself and his ability to win and so on and that sort of thing. He made a lot of errors in the confusion and he was hurt, he felt misused, the way a lot of liberals felt in those days. I think he would have recovered from all of that, but the fatal blow was certainly the rioting, managed largely by the Governor, not by him, and

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the corruption issue in which he was proved to be a dishonest man and he was properly tried, convicted and upheld on an appeal. If I'm committed to the belief that my job in Newark was to maintain the organizational integrity and right to make decisions of that government and also committed to do right, then I also have to be committed to the system of justice which works, which is that you get indicted, tried and convicted and fail on appeal, you are guilty. So that I would have to say that this man was done in by a flaw in his character and to participate or take part in what appears to have been a long time of the kind of relatively low-level corruption which contaminates many governments and in this case which was brought to light. I don't think he did anything that was particularly notorious for mayors, but which is particularly notorious in terms of what public administration is all about. I mean, its inappropriate and most people get away with it and he as a result of the long line of probing starting with those charges, issued that night or in that campaign in 1962 -- he was Mr. Clean in Congress, but that long campaign against him as representing the corrupt "Old Gang", and in which in part he did, that nagged him through his subsequent career. The continued pressure of the prosecutor's office largely at the assistance of the Newark Mob, I think set the stage for the eventual revelation which in retrospect was not terrific. He took a \$500 or a \$5,000 kickback from the guy who built them a swimming pool and some things he should never have done and the intention that he did more -- that he protected gambling, allowed the police department to do so -- which I'm sure he did. They said so and I have no reason to doubt that it was true. I couldn't see it there, but I noticed he was awful cautious with the police director and that he was not really interested in gambling crackdown -- I think, as you know, he was an advocate of legalized gambling for which he got a presentment. They wanted to indite him for advocating lawbreaking. In any case, Byrne and Lord, of course it is totally ironic since Byrne became Governor and approved legalized gambling and Lord now manages it. Those two guys drove him into the ground. And when the Republican prosecutor, U.S. Attorney, took over, they were looking to indite Democrats. The business community was very much in favor of insuring that he didn't win and lent its support. The Governor's office was similarly committed and there was a good deal conspired to identify him as a criminal. But it would not have been possible if, in fact, he wasn't. He was vulnerable, because he was dishonest and he was taking kickbacks. So while you might look at and marvel at the

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at the combination of factors which came together to reveal that and make his indictment possible. And his mistreatment as a prisoner -- no guy like him deserved to serve 5 years in a maximum security federal penitentiary. He certainly deserved to serve some time and most everybody would have been happy with a year or two, but all of us would ~~wine~~ and moan about the combination of the factors that came together at a point in time when it might never happen again to any guy, it is nevertheless true, if in fact he hadn't taken the money he would have survived that, but he didn't, ~~he~~ ^{was} dishonest and he did take the money and he was brought to justice by the system as it should. I think the system was a touch ruthless and out of touch when it put him into prison. When they let him go, which was just last year and the parole board just approved his parole last month, said well they didn't think that it was appropriate to parole him because there might be community backlash -- this was many years after the fact and without noticing that the community back ~~lash~~ ^{has} transformed him into almost a rehabilitated man. He gets cheered, he's popular and things like that only because they see how unnecessary ^{even the thought of} his sentence was. He caught a bank robber who got out before he did. He went by a bank holdup in which a police sgt. was shot and paralyzed. He was driving to work with his driver and was listening to the police radio and heard a description of a car as it flashed across their hood going in another direction. They pursued it, this was during the campaign in 1966. They pursued the car and it swung around the corner and the mayor was in close pursuit and banged into a tree. They were so close to it that they skid up to it almost hitting the bumper. The robbers got out and fired shots into the car, crashing through the windshield. The Mayor ducked to the floor and their windshield was shattered by bullets and the police came around and the Mayor told them they went that way and they caught them. They got out and Addonizio was still in prison. The moral of the story is "keep your hands off money". I think that the Mayor never understood how strongly gifted a man he was and I think that he had less faith in himself and was more fatalistic and cynical than he should have been and that all were blind to the fact that the system which existed all those years in Newark was not necessarily one which he had to move with. For example to get elected in 1962 it was not necessary to check out with the gambling interests and other people. He was believed in strongly enough to get elected without that, but he didn't understand that. It was hard to persuade that he was that popular. He always thought that the voters rise and go up and then fall and you go down. He was lucky in '66,

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if he had run in 1960, he would have lost. In 60 all Democrats won, so he won. So in some way he thought too much of himself and in some way he thought too little of himself. I think that he stayed with the system which struck him as just the way it was, the way to do business. It's kind of that northeastern corruption that people permit, tolerate among their police and city officials. And he thought that is the way it was. I'm not sure he took a ton of money, directly, but I'm sure he took things such as having bills paid for him on trips and things like that, which he really should never have done. I think he thought as long as he wasn't ⁱⁿ some overt handing over money ^{transaction}, he was going to be all right. He was flawed, when it came to his ability to see that he needed to stand it, that he was strong enough, that he had enough support to stand apart from that and that he could have survived and he could have done well. He was a little too fatalistic. I don't know what the hell motivated him, it certainly was tied up in some way with his family background. He perceived the political system, to him what was legal and what wasn't seemed more in terms of the way in which a lot of politicians feel, not in terms of the law, but in terms of the way he has always done business. That's too bad. He did a tremendous disservice, not only to himself, but to the city.

- b. The courts - You have forgotten the U.S. Attorney. Because the courts and the jails, I wouldn't even bother to talk about them. There is nothing extraordinary that happened about the courts other than the Mayor got put in them. And there is nothing unusual about the jails, other than the Mayor got put in them.

- c. *[The courts built a new courthouse.]* We paid no attention to them. It was a political thing and it was done by the county architect for the Democratic party. It was a lousy job in my opinion. I was the architectural critic for the Star Ledger for many years and I hated those buildings, I think those buildings were a very important dominant feature in downtown when I was community development director in Newark and I was very concerned with them. I think they were lousy buildings and I don't think they did a damn thing for the city. I don't think the parking lot between the college and those buildings does much either. That was supposed to be a park, that's why we gave them that land.

[When it became Ryghines]
The change in the U.S. Attorney's office was the most significant thing. It was President Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell, and the fellow -- a little Texas man, he later was indicted in Texas, he was under Mitchell -- he had to quit his job when there was a probe of his own dealings with the bank. He was the guy

13. continued (4)

doing the good stuff, I don't remember his name, but in any case, he wasn't there all that long before he got dumped. He was very gleefully pursuing Democratic politicians. It's kind of ironic. Lacey's name was cleared with Addonizio. Sure, he was the mayor of Newark. The FBI came out and interviewed Addonizio about Lacey and he said that Lacey was a decent guy. He thought he was, by the way, he'd known his father. I think Lacey was, too. He was a very ambitious man -- he was a Republican and he knew what he was there for. He followed through on a lot of things Democrats might not have and he followed through very well because he had a very strong assistant, a very ambitious, driving assistant. People made a parallel between Addonizio and myself and Lacey and Stern. I find that a little unflattering. I admire Stern because I think he turned into a decent person, but he was very much a hard-driving, grandstanding sort in those days. I didn't like the way when the Mayor was first indicted *he* hung around and followed and stayed with the TV guys. Once you indict the guy, you can stay in your office, but to go around and relish *the moment* and be with the reporters, whispering and doing all kinds of leaks, I found that not in good form. So I always had a hard time getting that he was ok. My friends know him, *my newspaper guys* *they're* my dearest, closest friends *they* tell me that he is ok.

Knowledgeables Interview

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14. Was there anything about the police department which was ever a source of controversy during this time? If so, please explain.

There was always riots within the police department. They had a lot of trouble controlling the police department. During the riots, if you listen to the tapes in 1967-68, it was widely understood that the Mayor's attitude was to be moderate. When Martin Luther King was shot that ~~person~~ ^{person}, he got suspended. Any cop that did anything got suspended and then there was always a police response to that. Then we tried the civilian review board, which was the key issue for many years. We came up with some sort of ~~sort of~~ ^{sort of} system where all cases were referred to the civil rights act. ~~We had a number of crucial meetings.~~ ^{There were a number of crucial meetings, one in particular in Manhattan.} We had a new human rights director, Jim Threatt from Philadelphia, and he had to make a key decision. A lot of decent men were trying to hold down things ~~with the police~~ ^{with the police}. ~~It was particularly difficult because~~ ^{whether or not one of those killings was made with reason by the officer,} whether or not one of those killings was made with reason by the officer, under heavy pressure, ~~he had to make a key decision~~ ^{he had to make a key decision} and yes and he was new, and that kind of got the community off the hook. There was always some need to do that. It was one of those cases where he had to say, es. "There appeared to be in the police officers' point of view, and so on and so on. It was very controversial relationship. It was a three part relationship. One was the Mayor, the black community and the police department. That relationship ~~was on which~~ ^{was on which} was negotiated on the three power centers and I don't think the police director was the guy, I think the police department, itself. He was part important and part not. Mostly bent to the Mayor's will, he was himself positive about trying to have some liberal response and I don't think he was a particularly liberal man. I think he was quite the contrary. When it came to the police department confrontation with the black community, ~~it was kind of an old-line communist hunter type.~~ ^{it was kind of an old-line communist hunter type.} But I think he was not crushing blacks. That wasn't his game. He really was able to see more clearly than that. What was difficult was that the police department was dealing with the black community everyday and feeling the hostility of the black community and feeling their law enforcement responsibilities and their own white stuff -- you know it was all mixed up. We had a lot of trouble with them. We had a police strike twice and that sort of thing and breakdown. Anyway, it was understood that we would ~~not~~ ^{not} arm our guys in modern gear and when the riots started in 1967, they were still wearing World War I helmets. They had not shotguns, face masks, helmets. Spina would ~~not~~ ^{not} get them, he thought that would alarm the black community, nor would he go into any riot training. His belief, our belief, is that that is inappropriate in New York. Do you believe that? -- talk about naive.

Molafunite

14. continued (1)

But it was the belief of the Mayor and the Police Director that any such moves would be interpreted as anti-black. You should see the movies of the first famous charge out of the 4th Precinct when the riot started. I had this great film. I showed it to the President's Commission, but they were breaking up and they weren't too interested. They failed to see the exquisite beauty of that film. You've got to be a devotee of Newark to really appreciate what was going on. I have film of the riot beginning around the 4th Precinct. The rocks being thrown. ^{where was the outbreak of a television news} You watch that charge -- everything you have ever heard or read about Newark if you have a fair mind, has got to evaporate. Booted police, charged by the hard-driving, ruthless police. What you see is scared people ^{who} gradually ^{embolden themselves in a} kind of party by throwing things, and then the cops ^{coming} out just as scared, wearing World War I helmets in a disorganized way and kind of not sure of what the hell to do, you know, kind of walking around, looking funny and then chasing people to try to get to some burning cars. In a way which might be perceived as comic in another setting, was tragic. But to see them come out with those little tin helmets, it was a piece of work. That's where Newark was in 1967 at the point of the riots, and largely because the Mayor and the police director ^{or at least with his acquiescence} preferred to have the police department have that view. Now that had been the battle since 64, 65 and 66. The police were pressuring the Mayor to stop the police review board and stop this suspension of the cops and get off his pro-black stuff. We got a big grant from the Justice Department to do a police-community relations program, ^{a consultation program} which added just before the riots. I think Tom Hayden even took part in it. It was a straightforward grant, police-community relations grant. I think it was conducted by the human rights commission. It was a great thing and a lot of cops and a lot of community leaders went through it, confronting each other in this classroom setting. It was good. It actually didn't do a damn thing when the wave of civil unrest arrived, but it was perceived as valuable at that time. It just got lost in the shuffle. In any case, you have to understand that that was a battle through those years and that the police were a dominant force in that battle, at least up until the riots and then the black community took total command. They were balanced, they were a real important factor, because you have the police ^{During the riot in those early days what you'll hear is} strikes all the time. ^{what was significant to be} at the Mayor's rule not to use firearms, and in fact the Mayor had talked to Spina about what to do in case there was some trouble. The night before there was trouble. The policy, the agreement, had been that we were dealing with a large black community and we didn't want to get anyone hurt and that what we were going to do

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was a containment. The advice is always to get a lot of force and get in there and break it up before it begins.

(Paraphrasing of the last section of interview with Ronald Malafronte.)

There were two riots in 1967: the riot in the streets and the riot in the police department. We had two rebellions on our hands. Spina took to the air after the call to the Governor to bring in the state troopers. Spina told the police that there was no order barring the use of firearms. He reminded officers that the departmental general orders permitted an officer to shoot when his life is threatened and in other situations. His announcement meant that police officers had a license to kill. The state police had been trained by experts to show force. The city's suppression of the riot was strongly supported by Governor Hughes and President Johnson. During the days of the rioting, the President called Hughes several times. He said, in effect, "God damnit, Dick, you've got to do something about it." Hughes had supported LBJ for election in 1964. Hughes talked about drawing the line.

The riot was a disaster which affects business even now. For instance, ever since the riots in the establishing of health centers there is no possibility of a center in the city which attracts suburbanites and vice versa. More than one person has told me that he never set foot in Newark again after the riots.

At the time, we were in our own world of combat and confrontation without the slightest idea that the country was looking on. It never dawned on us that 6,000,000 people in New Jersey and the millions in the rest of the country were forming a lasting image of Newark.

Today it is as if Newark were transported to another planet. Many people look on Newark as if everyone black had participated in the riots and that these black people were waiting today to rip and kill anyone who ventured into Newark.

Imperiale worsened and extended the racial tension. The first half of the 1970 election campaign was to eliminate Imperiale. We, the Addonozio campaign, were liberals. The media and out of state press focussed on Newark. In particular, the New York newspapers spoke somewhat circumspectly about problems in New York, but when they came to Newark it was no holds barred. Imperiale got a great deal of publicity in 1968-70.

In the 1970 election, Imperiale was down in the pack. Ken Gibson personally was a moderate but, it was a fair charge that he was in the hands of Baraka. Gibson was a City Hall engineer, not an engineer in the private sector. Mayor Addonizio had appointed him. Among the blacks, there were a lot of potential leaders that did not emerge. Gibson did. The campaign fell to the individuals who were most active. Imperiale still had fervor. Dick Spina was a vocal spokesman for the Mayor.

In 1968, there was an extraordinary pulling together. Federal money came in through the anti-poverty program. Tom Hayden had gone after the riots, saying, "My job is done."

In April, 1968, with the assassination of Martin Luther King, the Mayor's office got a call that the black community leaders were meeting and wanted him to attend. As his aide I could have gone, but I felt that the Mayor was the best person to deal with this. He was good at talking with people at tense times. He went by himself. Basically, he told the black leaders, I'm doing you a favor because I'm maintaining this place until you get elected and take over." This was a whole different dynamic. That time was Addonizio's greatest moment. Those were awful times, exciting and drastic. He was knitting together the city. There were community-minded leaders then, how different it is now.

Knowledgesables Interview

15. During this time, do you recall any major litigation involving or affecting the way your city approached any of its problems? (Field Director: Probe for the name of the case and what it was about)

(not asked)

Knowledgeables Interview

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Biographical Notes:Date of Interview January 24, 1980Name of Informant Dolald Malafronte

(Interviewer: Include the following: current position and address, past positions as relevant to his/her selection as informant, other relevant information)

Mr. Malafronte's work as a reporter for the Star Ledger included coverage of the 1962 mayoral campaign, at which time he met both the incumbent and the mayor to be. In December 1964 he took the position in the Mayor's office as Administrative Assistant with responsibilities in intergovernmental affairs, community relations and press relations. He became the mayor's right hand. When Mayor Addonezio and other members of city government were indicted, Malafronte was not accused of any corruption. He continued to serve Mayor Gibson for about a year, setting up a system for channeling anti-poverty funds through the city instead of directly to the social agencies. Mr. Malafronte presently is an executive with